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ABSTRACT

In light of the progress that black Americans as a group have made during the last two decades, a survey was conducted to examine socioeconomic and attitudinal differences within the black community. In this report, the following findings are highlighted: (1) there are subgroups of blacks that are clearly definable by income, education, family type, and occupational level; (2) nearly 40 percent of black families have incomes below $10,000 per year, while ten percent have annual incomes above $35,000; (3) black college attendance increased 93 percent between 1970 and 1980, but the high school dropout rate is still 25 percent; (4) married couple families (54 percent in 1980) and female headed families (42 percent) constitute the two major black family groupings; (5) despite economic differences, most blacks feel a kinship with other blacks that transcends economics; (6) in both high and low income families, unemployment was seen as the most important problem; (7) black respondents with the highest household income mentioned experiencing racial prejudice as frequently as did those with the lowest incomes; (8) cynicism among blacks at high occupational levels indicates their sympathy with rather than antagonism toward those at lower levels; (9) record turnouts of black voters for black candidates and the lopsided majority of votes these candidates receive demonstrate black solidarity most dramatically. It is concluded that the continued prevalence of racism in American society binds blacks together with a force far stronger than the divisive effects of economic or educational differences. (Author/GC)

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BLACK SOLIDARITY

The Tie That Binds

James D. McGhee

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BLACK SOLIDARITY:
The Tie That Binds

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HIGHLIGHTS

o There are subgroups in the black community that are clearly definable on the basis of income, education, family type and occupational level.

o Nearly 40 percent of black families have incomes below $10,000 per year while about 10 percent have incomes above $35,000 per year.

o Black college attendance increased by 93 percent between 1970 and 1980, but the high school dropout rate is still nearly 25 percent.

o For blacks, there are two major family groupings: married-couple families, which in 1980 comprised about 54 percent of all black families, and those headed by females, which comprised 42 percent.

o Despite the economic differences that exist, most blacks feel a kinship with other blacks that transcends economics.

o In both high- and low-income black families, unemployment was seen as the most important problem facing black people.

o Black respondents with the highest household income mentioned racial prejudice as a major problem in about the same proportions as did those with the lowest incomes.

o The cynicism of blacks at high-occupational levels is strong evidence against any polarization in the black community. Clearly, the haves hold beliefs that would indicate sympathy with those at lower occupational levels rather than antagonism towards them.

o Perhaps the most dramatic demonstrations of black solidarity are the record turnouts of black voters for black candidates and the lopsided majority of black votes these candidates receive.

o The continued prevalence of racism serves to bind blacks together with a force far stronger than the divisive effects of economic or educational differences -- race is the tie that binds.

INTRODUCTION

In the last 20 years, blacks in the United States have made significant progress in a number of areas that affect their lives and the lives of their children. They have, for example, finally reached the point where over one-half of the adult population has graduated from high school -- a seemingly minor statistic but one that represents a major milestone for blacks. The level of college enrollment of young blacks passed the one million mark in 1980, and blacks have at last begun to penetrate the executive levels of corporate America to the extent that books and research on the nature of and methods for their survival in corporate America are emerging.[1] Members of this viable, albeit fragile, black middle class have been appointed or elected to some of the highest levels in government as well. Only a governorship and the presidency elude this group, but even these are probably no longer out of reach. Blacks are more visible and vocal in state and local politics, and most have been elected to office because of their ability to appeal to all voters -- black and white. Finally, recent and dramatic increases in the number of blacks registered to vote coupled

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[1]George Davis and Glegg Watson, Black Life in Corporate America: Swimming in the Mainstream (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1982).

with an increase in the actual number of black voters foreshadow the growing importance of blacks on the national political scene.

Yet the progress made by blacks in the last two decades has been neither easy nor smooth; nor has it been evenly distributed across the entire black community. Blacks have not lifted themselves out of poverty and helplessness en masse as some naively expected; rarely, however, has that been the case for any disadvantaged group. Historically, progress in the United States for ethnic minority groups has been sporadic, fitful, full of false starts and blind alleys, but progress has occurred, nevertheless. It often began with a privileged few, who were seen as exceptions to the rule: the "good Jew," the "sober Irishman," the "calm Italian," the "articulate Black." The successful performance of these few led to the acceptance of others, who paved the way for the many who followed in their footsteps.

Of course, in reality, it is neither that simple nor easy a process; in fact, the first few -- the vanguard -- are always a highly select group who are often over-qualified for the positions they are allowed to occupy. The nine children selected to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, for example, were among the best students in the segregated schools from which they came. Likewise, the "first" Black, the "first" Latino, the "first" of any oppressed group is usually over-qualified because their sponsors, to the maximum extent possible, want to insure against failure, resulting from a lack of ability or preparation. In other words, those who are

first are usually the cream of the crop, the best of their group. For blacks, this usually means the brightest, the best educated, and the most disciplined are chosen, with the best of those succeeding in their new endeavors.

Some analysts have observed this phenomenon and interpreted it as heralding the emergence of a black "elite" with backgrounds and values that differ markedly from the less privileged or able black American. This viewpoint is rooted in the growth of a black middle class and a general improvement in opportunities for blacks in the last two decades. As a result, these analysts divide blacks into essentially two groups: one that is well-educated, highly skilled and easily employable and the other -- undereducated, without skills and unemployable.

A term that is rather descriptive of this hypothetical grouping is polarization. It is defined as "a concentration, as of groups, forces or interests, about two conflicting or contrasting positions."[2] Polarization, when applied to black Americans, implies the existence of divisions within the black community that can be measured with known social indicators and that result in philosophical, attitudinal and behavioral differences between subgroups of blacks. This perceived polarization of the black community tends to be based on economic indicators, despite the fact that economic evidence alone is insufficient for determining the existence of polarization. Economic data indicate only the existence of different groups definable by various economic criteria. In reality, any group

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[2]William Morris (Ed.), The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978), p. 1013.

of people can be divided into subgroups on the basis of almost any measurable criterion. Thus, the existence of economic subgroups in the black community is not the real issue; rather, it is whether the existence of such subgroups has meaning in terms of the attitudes and behavior of the group and whether the economic differences between (or among) them are reflected in those attitudes or behavior. Attitudinal or opinion data provide insight into the philosophy or belief systems that drive various income groups. Thus, it is attitudes and philosophy --not income or education -- that determine whether there is polarization or solidarity in a community.

Solidarity is defined as "a union of interests, purposes, or sympathies among members of a group: fellowship of responsibilities and interests,"[3] and it implies a mutuality of concerns and interests that is also measurable with known social indicators. When attitudinal and behavioral data are examined, for example, one finds, instead of polarization in the black community, a remarkable solidarity and cohesiveness that transcends the real economic and educational differences among them. In fact, it is ultimately the experience of racism that binds black Americans together. The knowledge that they and their children are likely to be confronted with racism and bigotry at any time, from any quarter regardless of their personal qualities or individual accomplishments, binds blacks together far more strongly than economic or social differences can pull them apart.

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[3] Ibid., p. 1229.

DIVERSITY IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Although the black community, beginning with the first blacks to reach these shores, was never the monolithic, homogeneous group that it was thought to be, it is even more diverse today than it has been at any time in the past. The advances of the last 20 years have had the effect of increasing that diversity by contributing to blacks' success via a combination of hard work, ability and a government that was shamed into partially living up to its promise of equal opportunity for all. However, this increasing diversity in the black community should not be interpreted as a division of blacks into mutually antagonistic groups. In fact, much like the metaphorical glass of water, it depends on how one looks at it. If the glass is viewed as half empty, then the income data presented below that describe the black middle class and the strong relationship between income and education could be interpreted as heralding the emergence of a small privileged class of blacks who are, perhaps, alienated from the majority. On the other hand, if the glass is seen as half full, then one would be pleasantly surprised by the consistent uniformity in black attitudes and behavior in spite of the increasing diversity among blacks.

Income

One indicator of the economic status of the black community is the difference in the percentage share of all income received by the richest and the poorest segments of the black population. If

the black community were becoming divided into haves and have-nots, we would expect to see that segment of the black population with the largest income earning an increasing share of all income earned by blacks, while the poorest segments would be earning a smaller and smaller share of all income earned by blacks.

Table 1 presents the percentage share of all household income received by each one-fifth of black households, ranked by income. These data provide no indication of a trend toward greater concentration of income within one segment of the black population. In 1981, for example, black families ranking in the top one-fifth in family income earned 45 percent of the income of all black families. That proportion has not changed significantly since 1950 when it was 43.4 percent. In fact, there have been small but continuous fluctuations in the percentage share of various income groups, especially between 1960 and 1970. During that period, the percentage of all black income earned by the top one-fifth of black families dropped slightly from nearly 45 percent in 1960 to 43.4 percent in 1970. At the same time, the percentage share earned by the lowest one-fifth of black families rose from 3.7 to 4.5 percent and for the second lowest fifth, from 9.7 to 10.6 percent. Essentially, then, the percentage share of all black income earned by the poorest segments of the black population increased slightly during the seventies while the percentage share earned by the wealthiest segment of the black population decreased slightly. After 1970, however even these small changes reversed themselves

until in 1981 the percentage share of income for various segments of the black population was about the same as it was in 1960.

What these data describe is a long-term pattern of concentration of income in the top 20 percent of both the black and white population as ranked by income. While there is a tendency for this concentration to be slightly higher among blacks than among whites, these differences have been constant for over 30 years, and there is no consistent direction for the year-to-year fluctuations in percentage share of total income. With the general increase in the income of those in the lowest one-fifth of the black community, these data, in fact, support a narrowing of the income gap among blacks rather than the opposite.

Another indicator of the economic condition of the black community is the income of black families and individuals. If the black community were becoming polarized on the basis of income, it would be most apparent in comparisons between those families or individuals with the highest and lowest incomes.

High-Income Black Families. The proportion of high-income black families has grown appreciably since 1960. In that year, only 8.7 percent of black families had incomes of $25,000 or more in 1981 dollars. In 1981, on the other hand, 23 percent of black families had incomes that high, and over 2 percent had incomes of over $50,000 annually. Much of this change took place between 1960 and 1970 when the percentage of black families earning $25,000 or more jumped from 9 to 23 percent; this percentage had not changed as of 1981 (Table 2). Thus, while

there has been no increase in the proportion of black families with high incomes in the last 11 years, there has been a large increase in both the number and proportion of high-income black families over the last two decades. These high-income black families constitute a small but well-defined subgroup in the black community.

Low-Income Black Families. The proportion of very low-income black families has fallen somewhat in the last 20 years. In 1960 over one-half of all black families earned less than $10,000 in 1981 dollars. By 1970 that proportion was approximately one-third (33%) -- its lowest point. By 1981, however, it had risen again to 38 percent reflecting the impact of the recession, which began in 1980.

In general, these data show that black families may be divided into three overlapping groups, primarily defined by those with the highest and lowest incomes. About 10 percent of black families have incomes above $35,000, and they constitute the high-income group. These include college educated single-parent families and married-couple families where both parents are working. And even though combined family income may be classified in the high-income category, neither householder taken singly may really have a very high income.

Nearly 40 percent of black families have incomes below $10,000 per year, a poverty level income for a family of four in 1981. The remaining half of black families, which is the largest group, has incomes ranging from a low of $10,000 to a high of $35,000 per year. This income span represents a vast

difference in the lifestyles of individuals represented by these numbers. The $10,000-$20,000 group, for example, comprise the working poor who make up 29 percent of all black families. Finally, the $20,000-$35,000 group represents a middle-class income for the 22 percent of black families who earn it -- an income that often requires the combination of two salaries to maintain.

It is certain, then, that there are distinct subgroups within the black community that are definable by family income level. Yet, the broad range of family income levels masks what is actually a very narrow range of income for the great majority of black individuals. In 1981, there were only a total of 270,000 black adults with individual incomes of $30,000 or more (Table 3). This amounts to only about 2 percent of the total adult black population, which earns a relatively high income (9% of adult whites earn this much). Therefore, the great majority of black high-income families require two salaries rather than one to maintain their high-family income. As individuals, there is greater homogeneity of income in the black community than family income figures indicate. Nevertheless, despite their relative size, there are groups within the black community with widely varying income levels.

Educational Attainment

In 1980, for the first time in the history of America, over one-half of the adult black population had completed high school (Table 4). Of course a much larger proportion (76%) of young adults aged 22-34 and a much smaller proportion (18%) of the

elderly had completed high school, but for all blacks combined the proportion with at least a high school diploma finally exceeded 50 percent. On the other hand, nearly one-fourth of blacks 22-34 years old had not graduated from high school in 1980. And while the dropout rate of black students is declining, a high school diploma is still one of the basic criteria by which blacks can be grouped.

The attainment of a high school diploma is of extreme importance for blacks because while it does not guarantee its recipient an adequate income, it is a necessary prerequisite. The median income in 1981 for black full-time workers with one to three years of high school was $12,445, about $1,000 more than that for workers with less than an elementary school education (Table 5). On the other hand, the median income of workers with one to three years of high school was $3,500 less than that of the high school graduate. Thus, there is a significant financial reward for attaining a high school diploma.

College attendance continually rose through 1980. In fact, college enrollment of blacks increased by 93 percent between 1970 and 1980 (Table 6). More importantly, the proportion of young black adults having completed four years of college doubled from 6.1 percent in 1970 to 12.6 percent in 1980 (Table 7).

As with high school graduation, there is a significant financial incentive to attend and graduate from college. There is nearly a $4,000 difference between the median incomes of

black high school and college graduates and increasing proportions of blacks responding to that incentive. In fact, in order for most black individuals to earn a middle-income salary of about $20,000 at least a college diploma is usually required (see Table 5). On the other hand, for a white to earn this income, a high school diploma is usually sufficient. But in order to get a college diploma, one must first graduate from high school, thus that becomes one of the most important milestones in the lives of black people.

In 1979, 45 percent of black college students came from homes where the household head had not graduated from high school, and over two-thirds came from families where the parents had not attended college (Table 8). Given the close relationship between education and income, the great majority of these homes were probably low-income households. Therefore, it is not the black middle class that was supplying most of the college students but the low-income black family.

These data directly contradict any hypothesis of the emergence of a self-perpetuating black elite based on educational attainment. In fact, it is not just college educated parents who are seeing that their children receive college educations. Just the opposite is true -- only 25 percent of black college students come from homes where the household head is college educated; thus, the so-called black middle class has working class origins.

Blacks with college degrees clearly enjoy some advantages over those who drop out of high school. There is an obvious economic advantage as well as a much broader range of employment

and career options. These advantages will obviously result in very different lives and lifestyles for the college graduate and the high school dropout. But it is also clear that a good education and the income it can bring have not been limited to a privileged few. Working class and low-income families in 1980 still had access to higher education. That is not to say, however, that these circumstances will not change. In fact, one of the major results of the cutbacks in federal student loan programs and educational subsidies will be to deny access to higher education to those families that are the poorest and need help the most.

Family Type

Perhaps the most significant factor that distinguishes various groups within the black community is family type. For blacks there are two major family groupings: married-couple families, which in 1980 constituted nearly 54 percent of all black families and families headed by a female with no husband present, which constituted about 42 percent of black families (Table 9). The large proportion of black families headed by females is both an alarming statistic and a relatively new development in black family structure. As recently as 1970, married couples accounted for nearly two-thirds of black families (65.6%), while families headed by females accounted for less than one-third (30.5%). Of course, there is nothing inherently wrong with families headed by women. The problem is that female-headed households also have the lowest median income of <u>any</u> family type, with most living in poverty.

In 1980, nearly three-fourths (72%) of all black female-headed households contained children under the age of 18 years -- up from 67 percent in 1970. During the same period, the proportion of all black children under 18 years old living with single females also increased dramatically -- from about 31 percent in 1970 to over 44 percent in 1980. Thus, we are fast approaching the point where half of all black children in the United States will be living with single females.

The Female Head-of-Household. Because nearly 42 percent of black families are headed by single females, it is worthwhile to examine some of the characteristics of these families more closely. The average age of the black female householder has been decreasing for the last 30 years and is now 37.6 years. More interesting and significant, however, are the reasons why these women both are single and heads of households. About one-fourth of them have never been married. Nearly three-fourths, on the other hand, are either married with an absent spouse (28.7%), widowed (22.2%) or divorced (21.9%).

One of the major reasons for the disintegration of these families is, in fact, divorce. In 1970, 14 percent of female householders with no spouse present were alone for this reason. By 1980, however, that proportion had increased to 22 percent, yet all other reasons for family disintegration had declined over the same period (Table 10).

Family Type and Income. Family type is important because there is a very clear and strong relationship between family type and family income, with the lowest family income going to the fastest growing black family type -- the female-headed household. In 1980, black married-couple families had a median income of $18,593 dollars while the median income for all black families was $12,674. Black married-couple families with the wife in the paid labor force had the highest median incomes of all black families at $22,795. Even when the wife is not in the paid labor force these families have higher median incomes ($12,419) than do female-headed households, reflecting the generally higher wages and salaries earned by males. On the other hand, the median income of female-headed households was $7,425 in 1980, or only about one-third that of the married-couple family (Table 11).

Clearly then, family type is a major determinant of economic status in the black community, although, this relationship is only an indirect one. There is nothing inherent in the married state that leads to higher family income. Married couples have higher incomes primarily for two reasons: because both householders are usually employed and because males generally have higher median incomes than females do. In fact, in 1980 the median income of married-couple families where the wife is not in the paid labor force was $12,419 or a little more than one-half that of married-couple families with the wife in the paid labor force. Therefore, it is the opportunity to combine two incomes plus the higher earnings potential of males that result in the higher incomes for married-couple families.

Despite a clear distinction between the incomes of different family types, the distinction in no way supports an hypothesis of polarization in the black community. The mere existence of differences among subgroups of blacks does not mean that these groups differ attitudinally or philosophically.

Occupational Distribution

Another criterion that might be used to determine whether or not divisions exist in the black community is that of occupational distribution -- the proportion of blacks employed in different types of occupations. Various occupations have different levels of prestige and respect accorded to them and, of course, are closely related to education and income. But even examined by itself, occupational distribution of blacks does provide some indication of the existence of subgroups within the black population.

Since 1970 there has been significant growth in both the number and proportions of blacks of both sexes in white-collar occupations. In 1980, for example about 22 percent of black males and nearly 50 percent of black females were employed in white-collar occupations; while, in 1970, these proportions were 13 percent and 38 percent, respectively. During that same period, the proportion of black blue-collar workers decreased from about 87 percent to 77 percent for males and from 62 percent to 52 percent for females. These two trends represent a general shift in black employment from blue-collar to white-collar jobs (Table 12).

The largest percentage increases in white-collar positions came in the occupations that had the fewest black workers. In 1970, only 2.1 percent of black males and 1 percent of black females were officials and managers. In 1980, these had increased to 5.5 percent for males and 3.3 percent for females (Table 13). There have been similar gains in other white-collar occupations such as professionals (up over 100%), which have traditionally employed only a few blacks. While the numbers and proportions of blacks in these high-level occupations are still small, they represent a distinct and growing group of highly educated and generally high-salaried black individuals.

These data provide additional evidence that blacks are becoming as increasingly diverse in their career selections as they are in income and educational attainment; however, it remains to be seen if the beneficiaries of these opportunities can be described as polarized or alienated from other blacks.

Summary

There is considerable diversity in the black community, and that degree of diversity is increasing. Black individuals earn higher incomes today than at any time in the past, and black family income is also increasing. More blacks are attending and completing college and more are filling white collar jobs. At the same time, however, the great majority of black individuals and families do not earn even a mid-level income, and too many black youths still drop out of school to face a lifetime of chronic unemployment. So there are real differences to be found between those blacks who have progressed and those who have not.

Some have interpreted these differences as indicative of polarization -- the division of blacks into conflicting groups. But difference does not equal polarization and the existence of even the most extreme economic differences does not guarantee that those at the extremes will be in conflict. Despite the real economic differences that exist, most blacks feel a kinship with other members of the black community that transcends those economic differences; in fact the dominant characteristic of the black community is not polarization, but solidarity.

BLACK SOLIDARITY

Thus far we have documented the diversity within the black community by describing those characteristics that allow us to distinguish between various subgroups. We have seen that blacks can be grouped according to several criteria: income level, educational attainment, family type, type of job and, of course, the employed and unemployed. But the fact that these subgroups exist and that the black community is not homogeneous and monolithic is not evidence that these groups are becoming polarized or that serious divisions exist in the black community. In fact, the mere delineation of different groups does not address the real issue -- that of whether there is polarization or solidarity among black Americans.

Attitudes

While economic indicators alone are insufficient to describe the economic diversity of the black community, the concepts of polarization or solidarity have underlying implications for attitudinal and behavioral differences among subgroups of blacks. If blacks are truly splitting into two or more groups defined by economic opportunity, education and training, then one would expect other differences to manifest themselves in addition to economic ones. Unless economic differences are accompanied by attitudinal or behavioral differences, it cannot be claimed that polarization is actually occurring or even that blacks exhibit solidarity.

Although there is a scarcity of attitudinal data with black samples that are large enough to be meaningful, some data bases do exist that have assessed the attitude of blacks in sufficient numbers and that incorporate income data in sufficient detail to be useful to this discussion. One such data base is the National Urban League's Black Pulse Survey. Conducted in 1979-80 by the National Urban League, the Black Pulse was an in-person hour-long interview of 3,000 black heads-of-household. Its coverage of topics ranged from basic issues such as sources of household income to sociological data including the nature of various group memberships of the respondents. The importance of this data base for the current discussion, however, is that it contains a wealth of income and attitudinal data that can provide some insight into differences and similarities in the attitudes and opinions of individuals from a wide range of income categories.

The Most Important Problem Facing Blacks. When asked, "What is the most important problem facing black people in the United States today?" unemployment was the problem most often mentioned by blacks in all income categories (Table 14). Of those families with high incomes (above $36,000 per year), 27 percent mentioned unemployment as the most important problem, while of those with incomes of $12-20,000 per year, 39 percent mentioned unemployment as the most important problem. Similarly, at the lower end of the income scale, of those families with incomes under $8,000 per year, 32 percent mentioned unemployment as the most important problem facing blacks. Thus, in both high- and

low-income black families, unemployment was seen most frequently as the most important problem facing black people although; a somewhat smaller proportion of very high-income families mentioned unemployment as a major problem. One possible explanation for this difference is that the sample size for the high-income families (above $30,000) tends to be small, therefore, the data from very high-income families is somewhat less reliable than that from those with lower incomes. The sample of families with incomes in the $20,000 to $30,000 range, for example, is more than three times larger than that of either of the very high-income groups, and those families are in much closer agreement with the lower income families.

As can be seen in Table 14, this pattern is repeated for four of the five problems most mentioned by the Black Pulse sample -- unemployment, inadequate education, and racial prejudice and discrimination. There are only minimal differences in opinion on the importance of these issues among respondents from black households with very different income levels.

Interestingly, families in the highest income category named lack of racial unity as a major problem facing blacks twice the rate of families in the lowest income category. This fact is not surprising because this is the group that would be expected to feel the most distant from other blacks because of their relatively high income. Fully 15 percent of this high-income group mentioned the lack of racial unity as the most important problem facing blacks while much smaller proportions of the lower income groups mentioned it. It is significant that these respondents mentioned racial unity because the only

solution to that problem is increased racial unity or solidarity. This, then, is a strong argument against the hypothesis of polarization by the subgroup that we would expect to be the most polarized and alienated -- the high-income black household.

Furthermore, black respondents with the highest household incomes also mentioned racial prejudice as a major problem in about the same proportions (12%) as those with the lowest incomes (10.5%), indicating that even higher income black families continue to perceive racial discrimination as a significant problem. It cannot be determined from these data whether these respondents perceived racial discrimination to be a problem for themselves or for all black people. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is general agreement among blacks of all income levels that racial discrimination was one of the most important problems facing black people in 1979.

Perception of Discrimination. The Black Pulse Survey provided even further evidence that there are no income barriers to the perception of racial discrimination. When asked to what extent they felt that blacks were discriminated against, 61 percent of Black Pulse respondents with family incomes of $36,000 or more responded "a great deal," 35 percent responded "somewhat," while only about 4 percent responded "only a little" or "not at all." Again, we find a remarkable unanimity of opinion between respondents with very different household incomes rather than any significant differences of opinion between those in very different economic circumstances (Table 15).

The Push for Equal Rights. When asked their opinion about the progress of the struggle for equal rights by blacks, nearly two-thirds (65%) of the respondents with household incomes of $36,000 or more felt that progress was too slow (Table 15) and nearly three-fourths (73%) of those with household incomes of less than $8,000 agreed with that opinion. The income group with the largest proportion of respondents who felt that the push for equal rights was moving too slowly was the $30,000 to $36,000 group; of which 83 percent expressed that opinion.

Interestingly, the members of the $30,000-$36,000 income group seem to be the most militant of all income categories. This group had the largest proportion of its members giving the strongest response to the two Black Pulse questions dealing with the pace of equal rights and the extent of racial discrimination. For example, 83 percent of this group felt that the push for equal rights was moving too slowly -- the highest proportion of any income group and nearly 76 percent also felt that blacks were discriminated against a great deal. It is entirely speculative, of course, but these findings suggest that this kind of response from a relatively high-income group may be indicative of the frustration resulting from encountering racism and discrimination at levels in our society where they were not expected. It may be even more difficult for them to accept these limitations when they have risen high enough to see the peaks only to be denied access to them by the criterion of race.

In April 1976, two social researchers, Kay Schlozman and Sidney Verba conducted a telephone survey of a metropolitan sample of employed and unemployed Americans.[4] The purpose of the survey was "to assess the impact of joblessness of individual citizens." One subset of the sample consisted of 202 blacks from four occupational levels. Examples of these occupational levels ranging from low- to high-level occupations are cited below:

1. Taxi driver, supermarket cashier, motel chambermaid, school custodian.
2. Carpenter, switchboard operator, tool-and-die maker, billing clerk.
3. Computer programmer, executive secretary, insurance salesman, draftsman.
4. Interior designer, elementary school teacher, microbiologist, oral surgeon.

Much of the data from the black subsample were analyzed by occupational level, and the findings provide additional evidence of the strength and pervasiveness of black solidarity.

Life Satisfaction. Schlozman and Verba found that blacks at all occupational levels were more dissatisfied with their incomes than whites and were also more dissatisfied with "life as a whole" than whites. These are not such surprising findings given the conditions under which most blacks live. What is surprising, however, is the uniformity of such feelings among

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[4]Kay Schlozman & Sidney Verba, Injury to Insult: Unemployment, Class and Political Response (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1979).

blacks across all occupational levels. Sixty-three percent of black respondents with low-occupational levels and 61 percent of blacks with high-occupational levels were dissatisfied with their incomes; the proportion of blacks dissatisfied with their lives as a whole was 36 percent for both high and low occupational levels (Table 17).

Belief in the Work Ethic. When asked by Schlozman and Verba if they believed that hard work was important to get ahead, 63 percent of blacks and 70 percent of whites across all occupational levels agreed with that statement (Table 18). However, when these responses were broken down by income level, some differences between blacks emerged. A majority (59%) of blacks in the lowest occupational levels agreed that hard work leads to success; however, that is a considerably smaller proportion than the other income groups, which ranged from 65 to 73 percent agreement (Table 19). Of course, this may not be so difficult to explain. Black members of the lowest occupational group must work very hard to survive, but do not see their hard work leading to success, as we traditionally define it, as often as whites do. Nevertheless, a substantial majority of blacks at the lowest occupational level still believed hard work could lead to success.

Despite this belief, when asked if their children had a chance to succeed, clear differences emerged between blacks and whites with some smaller differences emerging among blacks at different occupational levels (Table 19). Whereas 82 percent of whites at high-occupational levels believed their children had a

chance to succeed, only 46 percent of blacks in those occupations believed that. More interesting, however, were the differences within the black sample. It was the blacks in the highest occupational levels who were the least optimistic about their childrens' chances of success. In fact in their responses to this question, the blacks at high-occupational levels resemble blacks in low-occupational levels much more than they resemble whites at high-occupational levels. The authors state the significance of this finding best:

> It is among those in the highest occupational group --who presumably have experienced upward mobility in their own lives or those of their parents -- who are more cynical. Thus, it is the members of the black bourgeoisie, who have sometimes been accused of ignoring their fellow blacks in favor of identification with the white majority who are most skeptical about the openness and fairness of opportunity structures.[5]

Thus, while most blacks and whites overwhelmingly ascribe to the work ethnic, blacks are much more pessimistic about whether it will apply to their own children. That the pessimism of blacks at high-occupational levels is attributed to the unfairness of the system and not to their own personal characteristics is made clear by the third question in Table 19. Only 18 percent of blacks at high-occupational levels believed that their chances for success were fair, while 47 percent of whites at the same levels felt that their chances were fair.

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[5] Ibid.

To summarize, there is a pervasive belief by blacks at high-occupational levels that hard work pays off but not necessarily for them or their children, and they attribute this to unfairness in the system rather than to their own personal characteristics. The general cynicism of blacks at high-occupational levels is strong evidence against any "polarization" of the black community into haves and have-nots. Clearly, the haves --those at high-occupational levels - show beliefs that would indicate sympathy with those at lower occupational levels rather than antagonism towards them. Their cynicism is evidence of the effect of the disillusionment of all members of the black community.

Voting Patterns

In the last 30 years, blacks have come to be identified with the Democratic party but, according to a report by the Joint Center for Political Studies, this has not always been the case:

> The current, overwhelmingly Democratic affiliation of blacks voters is a more recent phenomenon. The first major postwar shift came in 1948, when President Harry S. Truman proposed a comprehensive package of civil rights legislation, and the Democrats then adopted a civil rights plank in their party platform that was strong enough to prompt a walkout by southern delegations and the "Dixiecrat" presidential candidacy of Strom Thurmond. The second big spurt occurred in 1964, when the Republicans nominated an outspoken opponent of

that year's Civil Rights Act to run against the president who had secured its adoption by Congress. The Democrats have maintained a roughly ten-to-one edge over the Republicans in black party identification ever since.[6]

Because of these events and others, the Democratic party is perceived as representing the interests of the poor and minorities to a much greater extent than does the Republican party. Therefore, voting patterns of blacks can provide a measure of black solidarity that is based on actual behavior rather than the indirect indicators described in earlier sections of this report.

CBS-New York Times Exit Polls. During the 1982 mid-term elections the CBS television network and the New York Times sponsored a series of polls of voters exiting polling places across the nation. Pollsters asked respondents about how they had voted in addition to personal characteristics such as income and race. The outcome of the CBS National Exit Poll is presented in Table 20.

Fully 82 percent of those blacks with incomes less than $10,000 per year and 86 percent of those with incomes between $10,000 and $20,000 per year voted for Democratic candidates in the mid-term elections of 1982. On the other hand, 71 percent of those earning between $30,000 and $50,000 per year and only 67 percent of voters earning more than $50,000 per year voted

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[6]Joint Center for Political Studies, "The Impact of the Black Electorate," working paper, Washington, D.C., February 1983.

for Democratic candidates. Thus, there seems to be some difference among the voting preferences of lower and higher income blacks. It is important to note, however, that the proportions for the highest income group (more than $50,000) are based on a total of only 15 people, and such a small sample casts doubt on the reliability of these data. The final column in Table 20 presents the data from the two highest income groups combined, which provides a more respectable sample size of 82. These respondents still show a pattern of lopsided preference for Democratic candidates (71%) but to a lesser degree than lower income groups. They also show a higher proportion of voters for Republican candidates, 20 percent, or twice the proportion found in the $20-$30,000 income group. In comparison, only 8 percent of the voters from the lowest income group voted Republican.

These national exit polls describe the decided preference among black voters for Democratic candidates regardless of the income level of the voter, but the preference is stronger among the lower income voters than among those with high incomes. In addition, a larger proportion of high-income voters than low-income voters indicated that they had voted Republican in the 1982 election. This pattern is very similar to that for white voters where those with higher incomes show the greatest tendency to vote Republican.

Without knowing the specific candidates or their platforms, it is difficult to interpret these data because there are conservative Democrats as well as liberal Republicans and such distinctions were not raised in the surveys. However, it is obvious that there are political differences reflected in the

decreasing preponderance of Democratic voting as income of the voter increases. It is equally obvious that these data, taken alone, do not demonstrate polarization in the black community. They do, however, demonstrate an increasing diversity with the black community. They also reflect a willingness of relatively high income blacks to embrace a wider variety of political philosophies. But in the final analysis, blacks demonstrate a surprising unanimity in their choice of political party, despite real differences in their levels of income.

Voting Patterns for Black Candidates. Perhaps the most dramatic demonstrations of black solidarity are the record turnouts of black voters when a black candidate is running and the lopsided majority of black votes these candidates receive. The Chicago mayoral primary and election are the most recent examples of this phenomenon.

In the Chicago mayoral primary of February 1983, Harold Washington won the Democratic nomination for Mayor with 84 percent of the black vote and 6 percent of the white vote, based on NBC News exit polls taken on election day (Table 21). Since blacks constitute only about 40 percent of the population of the city of Chicago, even this overwhelming majority of black votes would not have been enough for him to win the primary. Fortunately for Mr. Washington, there were also two white candidates in the primary election who split the remaining white vote almost equally allowing the solid black vote to win him the nomination.

In the mayoral election that followed seven weeks later, Washington gained an even larger proportion of black votes (98%) and that majority combined with the 18 percent of white voters who also voted for him, provided the margin of victory (Table 22). These elections provide a clear example of what can be accomplished through the strength of the vote and of black solidarity despite the differences that exist within the black community. The voting patterns are not broken-out by income group because these data are not available, but with majorities of 84 percent and 98 percent of the black vote, such data are not really needed to make the point. Clearly, when the chips were down and race was definitely an issue, black people demonstrated convincingly that their differences were less important than their similarities.

THE TIE THAT BINDS

The data presented here illustrate that there are real and significant differences among black Americans as measured by income, education, family type and occupational level.

As individuals, blacks are earning higher salaries than ever before and those higher salaries contribute to higher family incomes. At the same time increasing numbers of black families are headed by women and large proportions of those female heads-of-household are unemployed; therefore, nearly one-third of black families still live in poverty.

College enrollment of young blacks is increasing as is the proportion of adults having a high school diploma, but the high school dropout rate is still nearly one out of every four black teenagers with these young people having almost no chance of earning a decent living.

Finally, blacks are entering the white-collar occupations in increasing proportions as managers and technicians although a significant proportion of black workers are still laborers and at the bottom of the occupational ladder. So while some blacks have made progress, other have not and it is the lack of uniformity of progress that leads to the increasing differences among various members of the black community.

But the data presented here also show that blacks are much more homogeneous in their attitudes and much more cohesive as a group than economic data alone would indicate. There is substantial agreement, across all income levels, as to the major problems that blacks face and the reason for those problems -- racial discrimination.

Finally, these data show that there is tremendous solidarity among blacks when it comes to voting behavior. And, while there are some differences between those at the extreme income levels, when race is an issue, blacks tend to unify rather than splinter; they display solidarity rather than polarization. The study of group dynamics teaches us that one of the most consistent reactions of a group to an outside threat is an increase in the cohesiveness of the group. We would expect that it would take extreme economic and ideological differences among blacks to overcome the perception of a persecution by outside forces.

When debating his political philosophy of black self-determination with a group of black scholars Malcolm X, the Black Muslim leader exasperated by their disagreement, asked "Do you know what white racists call black Ph.D.'s?" When his antagonists replied that they did not, Malcolm X spat out, "Nigger!" Contained in that simple statement is perhaps the major reason for the lack of any real polarization in the black community and the real solidarity to be found there. The continued prevalence of racism and racial discrimination serves to bind blacks together with a force far stronger than the divisive effects of economic or educational differences. Racism is the great leveller. For no matter how wealthy blacks become or how much they contribute to their community or how strong their character, the reality is that they are still black and perceived by many as inferior, and no amount of individual education or income can overcome that fact. That is what Malcolm X so graphically pointed out. Only when race is no longer a major

issue will other factors as income, education or job prestige determine with whom blacks identify and for whom they vote. If and when race and racial discrimination are no longer perceived by blacks to be major problems, then we may begin to see genuine and deep divisions within the black community similar to those within other ethnic and racial groups. Until then, however, race will continue to be the tie that binds.

TABLE 1

Percentage Share of Aggregate Income Received in Selected Years by Each Fifth and Top 5 Percent of Families (by race of householder)

Income Rank	1981		1979		1970		1960		1950	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
Lowest Fifth	4.1	5.4	4.2	5.7	4.5	5.8	3.7	5.2	3.5	4.8
Second Fifth	9.4	11.7	9.5	12.0	10.6	12.5	9.7	12.7	10.3	12.4
Third Fifth	16.0	17.5	15.9	17.5	16.8	17.7	16.5	17.8	17.6	17.4
Fourth Fifth	25.7	24.2	25.3	23.8	24.8	23.6	25.2	23.7	25.2	23.2
Highest Fifth	44.8	41.2	45.1	41.1	43.4	40.5	44.9	40.7	43.4	42.2
Top 5 Percent	15.3	15.1	16.3	15.5	15.4	15.5	16.2	15.7	16.5	17.2

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 129, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States: 1979 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981) and No. 134, Money Income of Households, Families and Persons in the United States: 1981 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983).

TABLE 2

Distribution of Income by Race in Constant 1981 Dollars, 1960-1981 (percent)

Family Income	Black						White					
	1960[a]	1965[a]	1970	1975	1980	1981	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981
$50,000 +	--	--	2.0	1.7	2.7	2.1	--	--	8.0	8.6	9.9	9.7
$35,000 - $49,999	8.7	13.4	5.0	4.9	8.2	8.0	26.2	36.3	11.8	12.2	16.2	15.7
$25,000 - $34,999	--	--	15.9	17.5	12.9	13.0	--	--	26.6	26.8	21.7	21.1
$20,000 - $24,999	6.3	7.4	9.0	10.8	10.5	9.6	12.0	11.9	10.8	13.6	13.0	13.0
$15,000 - $19,999	15.1	16.0	16.9	14.6	12.5	12.4	24.0	21.2	17.7	12.7	12.8	12.6
$10,000 - $14,999	19.2	20.7	18.4	16.2	16.1	16.5	16.2	13.3	11.5	12.3	12.3	13.1
$ 5,000 - $ 9,999	24.7	25.2	19.8	22.3	22.0	21.6	13.2	11.1	9.3	10.2	9.7	10.3
Less Than $ 5,000	26.0	17.2	13.1	12.0	15.1	16.7	8.2	6.2	4.3	3.6	4.5	4.5

[a]Black and other.

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 134, Money Income of Households, Families and Persons in the United States: 1981 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983).

TABLE 3

Total Money Income in 1981: Persons with Income
by Race and Sex, 25 Years Old and Over
(numbers in thousands)

	Male				Female			
Income	Black	Percent	White	Percent	Black	Percent	White	Percent
Loss to $4,999	1,393	24.3	5,692	10.2	3,093	44.9	24,911	43.1
$5,000-$9,999	1,348	23.5	8,938	16.1	1,832	26.6	13,995	24.2
$10,000-$14,999	1,100	19.2	8,943	16.1	1,088	15.8	9,302	16.1
$15,000-$19,999	786	13.7	8,422	15.1	556	8.1	5,083	8.1
$20,000-$29,999	895	15.6	13,478	24.2	277	4.0	3,476	6.0
$30,000-$49,999	197	3.4	7,845	14.1	46	.7	829	1.4
$50,000 +	23	.4	2,367	4.3	4		138	.2
Median Income	10,490		$17,304		$5,747		$6,106	

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 137 Money Income of Households, Families, and Persons in the United States: 1981

TABLE 4

Educational Attainment
by Income Level of Black Persons in 1980,
15 Years Old and Over (numbers in thousands)

Education	Total	Age 15-17	18-21	22-34	35-44	45-54	55-59	60-64	65+
All income levels									
Elementary	1,328	355	52	117	128	210	108	81	277
High School									
1 to 3 years	5,131	1,236	770	1,089	662	630	285	183	276
4 years	5,874	22	956	2,491	1,127	625	250	174	229
College (1 or more years)	3,745	1	417	1,973	635	389	107	89	134
Years of school completed (median)	12.0	9.8	12.3	12.6	12.3	11.4	10.4	9.1	7.4
High School (% graduated)	51.3	1.3	61.5	76.5	64.1	44.9	34.5	30.2	17.6
Total	18,765	1,724	2,235	5,834	2,751	2,259	1,035	873	2,054
Below poverty level									
Elementary	532	162	20	58	63	63	35	35	97
High School									
1 to 3 years	1,880	447	339	489	227	148	76	57	97
4 years	1,221	6	252	539	211	87	42	28	56
College (1 or more years)	498	—	60	300	55	43	14	5	21
Years of school completed (median)	10.5	9.6	11.8	12.2	11.4	9.7	8.7	7.5	6.4
High School (% graduated)	32.6	0.9	45.3	57.0	42.0	26.9	19.8	12.0	9.9
Total	5,283	666	690	1,473	634	483	286	270	783

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, 133, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982).

TABLE 5

Education and Median Income of Full-Time Workers by Race and Sex, 25 Years Old and Over (1981 year-round)

Population	Total	Years Completed						
		Elementary		High School		College		
		1-7	8	1-3	4	1-3	4	5+
Male								
Black	$15,629	11,464	12,112	12,445	16,014	17,436	19,892	24,042
White	$22,251	13,157	16,558	17,795	20,968	23,129	26,864	30,801
Black/White Ratio	.70	.87	.73	.70	.76	.75	.74	.78
Female								
Black	$11,797	7,880	8,150	9,176	11,527	13,208	14,955	19,395
White	$13,531	8,486	10,181	10,271	12,455	14,613	16,463	20,189
Black/White Ratio	.87	.93	.80	.89	.92	.90	.91	.96

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 137, Money Income of Households, Families and Persons in the United States: 1981 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983).

TABLE 6

School Enrollment of Persons by Race, 3-34 Years Old, October 1970, 1975 and 1980 (numbers in thousands)

Race	1970	1975	1980	Percent Change 1970-1980
Black				
Elementary	4,868	4,509	4,259	- 12.5
High School	1,834	2,199	2,200	20.0
College	522	948	1,007	92.9
White				
Elementary	28,638	25,412	22,510	- 21.4
High School	12,723	13,244	12,056	- 5.2
College	6,759	8,516	8,875	31.3

Source: Prepared for the National Urban League Research Dept. from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 363, Population Profile of the United States: 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981).

TABLE 7

Percentage of School Years Completed for Blacks, 25 Years Old and Over, 1970, 1975 and 1980
(numbers in thousands)

Age	1970			1975			1980		
	All Persons	High School & Above (%)	College & Above (%)	All Persons	High School & Above (%)	College & Above (%)	All Persons	High School & Above (%)	College & Above (%)
25-34	2,651	53.4	6.1	3,096	69.3	10.7	3,832	75.7	12.6
35-44	2,347	41.6	5.2	2,376	49.4	7.4	2,673	63.3	8.2
45-54	2,128	29.1	3.8	2,218	35.9	4.8	2,268	42.2	7.3
55-64	1,545	17.0	3.8	1,684	22.5	3.4	1,821	30.4	3.7
65+	1,417	9.0	2.0	1,722	13.0	2.4	2,019	17.7	3.2
Male	4,619	32.4	4.6	4,925	41.6	6.7	5,585	51.0	7.6
Female	5,470	34.8	4.4	6,171	43.3	6.2	7,027	51.4	8.1
Total	10,089	33.7	4.5	11,096	42.5	6.4	12,613	51.2	7.9

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 363, Population Profile of the United States: 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981).

TABLE 8

Educational Attainment of Parents[1] of College Students by Race, 1970-1979 (numbers in thousands)

Education Level	Black 1970	Black 1979	White 1970	White 1979
Years College				
4 +	14	12	26	36
1-3	12	12	15	18
Total	26	24	41	54
High School Graduate	21	31	36	32
Non-High School Graduate	54	45	24	14
Children in College[2]	390	638	4,411	5,050

[1]Educational attainment of head of family.

[2]Family members enrolled part- or full-time in College, 16-34 years old.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 360, School Enrollment -- Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1979 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981).

TABLE 9

Family Type by Race, 1970 and 1980

Type	1970 Black No.	1970 Black %	1970 White No.	1970 White %	1980 Black No.	1980 Black %	1980 White No.	1980 White %	Percent Change Black No.	Percent Change Black %	Percent Change White No.	Percent Change White %
Married Couples	3,235	65.6	41,092	88.3	3,392	53.6	44,860	85.1	157	4.8	3,768	9.2
Wife in Paid Labor Force	1,747	54.0	15,651	38.1	2,022	59.6	22,138	49.3	275	15.7	6,487	41.4
Wife Not in Paid Labor Force	1,488	45.9	25,441	62.0	1,370	40.4	22,722	50.6	-118	15.7	-2,719	10.7
Female Head-of-Household	1,506	30.5	4,386	9.4	2,634	41.7	6,266	11.9	1,128	74.9	1,880	42.8
Total	4,928		46,535		6,317		52,710		1,389	28.2	6,175	13.2

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office,1981) and other reports.

TABLE 10

Selected Characteristics of the Black Female Family Householder, No Spouse Present, 1970 and 1980

Characteristics	1970	1980
Median Age	41.3	37.6
% Single (never married)	16.2	27.2
% Married, Spouse Absent	39.7	28.7
% Widowed	29.9	22.2
% Divorced	14.2	21.9
% Household Head with Children under 18	66.6	71.8
% Household Head without Children under 18	33.5	28.2

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 366, Household and Family Characteristics: 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981) and other reports.

TABLE 11

Type of Family by Race and Median Income, 1970-1980 (current dollars)

Type	1970 Black	1970 White	1980 Black	1980 White
Married couple families	$7,186	$10,723	$18,593	$23,501
Wife in Paid Labor Force	9,721	12,543	22,795	27,238
Wife Not in Paid Labor Force	5,961	9,531	12,419	19,430
Female Households (no husband present)	3,576	5,754	7,425	11,908
All families	6,279	10,236	12,674	21,904

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981).

TABLE 12

Number of Blacks Employed in Private Industry by Sex, 1970 and 1980

Type	1970 Male	1970 Female	1980 Male	Percent Change	1980 Female	Percent Change
White Collar						
Officials and Managers	40,282	11,723	12,527	204	66,037	463
Professionals	32,806	30,984	68,225	108	82,764	167
Technicians	37,183	45,905	78,725	112	82,764	113
Sales Workers	57,464	56,270	107,967	88	97,984	190
Office and Clerical Workers	85,330	292,389	122,129	43	162,965	93
Blue Collar						
Craft Workers	202,950	28,906	335,828	65	549,913	73
Operatives	735,472	279,869	701,757	-05	406,756	45
Laborers	468,530	136,593	338,699	28	173,060	27
Service Workers	285,991	274,515	323,904	13	405,467	48
Total Employment	1,946,008	2,197,154	2,197,947	13	2,008,795	74

Source: Prepared by National Urbal League Research Department from U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Reports, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Vol. 1, 1970 and Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Vol. 1, 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981).

TABLE 13

Occupational Distribution of Blacks in Private Industry by Sex, 1970 and 1979 (percent)

Type	1970 Male	1970 Female	1979 Male	1979 Female
White Collar				
Officials and Managers	2.1	1.0	5.5	3.3
Professionals	1.7	2.7	3.1	4.1
Technicians	1.9	4.0	3.6	4.9
Sales Workers	3.0	4.9	4.9	8.1
Office and Clerical Workers	4.4	25.3	5.6	28.0
Blue Collar				
Craft Workers	10.4	2.5	15.3	2.5
Operatives	37.8	24.2	31.9	20.2
Laborers	24.1	11.8	15.4	8.6
Service Workers	14.7	23.7	14.7	20.2

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Reports, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Vol. 1, 1970 and Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Vol. 1, 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981).

TABLE 14

The Most Important Problem Facing Black People Today by Income Level, 1979 (percent)

Problem	Household Income: Less Than $7,999	$8,000- $11,999	$12,000- $19,999	$20,000- $29,999	$30,000 $35,999	$36,000+
Unemployment	32.4	37.3	39.1	38.6	29.8	26.9
High Cost of Living	12.8	8.2	8.8	12.5	18.1	9.1
Inadequate Education	5.6	6.5	9.5	7.0	6.9	8.1
Racial Prejudice/Discrimination	10.5	12.0	10.0	12.1	3.9	12.0
Lack of Racial Unity	6.1	8.1	6.7	5.7	8.9	14.9

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from NUL Black Pulse Survey data, Washington, D.C., 1979.

TABLE 15

Perception of Discrimination Against Blacks
by Income Level, 1979 (percent)

Perception	Household Income					
	Less Than $7,999	$8,000-$11,999	$12,000-$19,999	$20,000-$29,999	$30,000-$39,999	$36,000+
Great Deal	62.1	68.2	61.3	66.4	75.6	60.9
Somewhat	26.3	24.2	29.9	31.6	22.8	35.2
Only a little	9.4	6.9	8.7	2.0	1.6	3.7
Not at all	2.1	0.6	0.2	.0	.0	0.2

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from NUL Black Pulse Survey data, Washington, D.C., 1979.

TABLE 16

Perception of the Pace of Equal Rights
by Income, 1979 (percent)

Perception	Household Income					
	Less Than $7,999	$8,000-$11,999	$12,000-$19,999	$20,000-$29,999	$30,000-$35,999	$36,000+
Too Fast	4.9	4.9	4.0	2.6	0.3	1.1
About Right Pace	21.7	18.8	23.4	17.1	16.8	33.4
Too Slowly	73.4	76.2	72.5	80.4	82.9	65.5

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from NUL Black Pulse Survey data, Washington, D.C., 1979.

TABLE 17

Level of Satisfaction by Race
and Occupational Level (percent)

Item	Occupational Level			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Dissatified with income				
Blacks	63	79	64	61
Whites	49	34	25	24
Dissatisfied with life as a whole				
Blacks	36	45	38	36
Whites	28	19	10	12

Source: Kay Schlozman and Sidney Verba, Injury to Insult: Unemployment, Class and Political Response (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1979).

TABLE 18

Belief in the American Dream by Race
(percent)

Belief	Blacks	Whites
Hard work is the most important factor in getting ahead	63	70
A worker's child has at least some chance to get ahead	59	73
The chances for success are distributed fairly	35	44

Source: Kay Schlozman and Sidney Verba, Injury to Insult: Unemployment, Class and Political Response (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1979).

TABLE 19

Belief in the American Dream by Race and Occupational Level

Belief	Occupational Level			
	1 (low)	2	3	4 (high)
Percent believing hard work leads to success				
Blacks	59	73	65	72
Whites	71	67	69	71
Percent believing worker's child has chance to succeed				
Blacks	55	67	64	46
White	66	66	74	82
Percent believing chances for success are distributed fairly				
Blacks	40	29	44	18
Whites	40	39	47	47

Source: Kay Schlozman and Sidney Verba, Injury to Insult: Unemployment, Class and Political Response (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1979).

TABLE 20

Black Voting Patterns in the 1982
Mid-Term Elections (percent)

Response	Less Than $10,000	$10,000-$20,000	$20,000-$30,000	$30,000-$50,000	$50,000+	$30,000+
Democratic	82	86	73	71	67	71
Republican	8	8	10	17	33	20
Did not Vote	1	1	1	2	-	1
No Answer	7	3	15	4	-	4
Other	2	2	1	5	-	4
Number	172	117	101	67	15	82

Source: CBS-New York Times, National Exit Poll, 1982.

TABLE 21

Chicago Democratic Mayoral Primary, February 22, 1983
Results by Ethnic Group (percent)

Item	Black	White	Polish/ Slavic	Irish	Hispanic	All Respondents
For whom did you just vote?						
Washington	84	6	3	5	12	—
Byrne	12	47	47	43	52	—
Daley	4	46	49	51	36	—
Others	0	1	1	1	0	—
When did you register to vote?						
A Year or More Ago	60	69	--	--	--	64
Last Summer	10	6	--	--	--	8
Last Fall	9	5	--	--	--	7
After Nov. '82 election	21	20	--	--	--	21

Source: NBC News Poll, February 1983.

TABLE 22

Voter Preference: Chicago Mayoral Election Results, April 12, 1983 (percent)

Grouping	Candidate	
	Washington	Epton
Ethnic		
Black	98	1
White	18	81
Polish/ Slavick	13	86
Irish	18	81
Hispanic	55	40
Religious		
Protestant	62	37
Catholic	29	69
Jewish	43	56
Party		
Democratic		
White	19	80
All	63	36
Republican		
White	7	90
All	19	79
Independent		
White	22	77
All	43	56

Source: NBC News Poll, April 1983.